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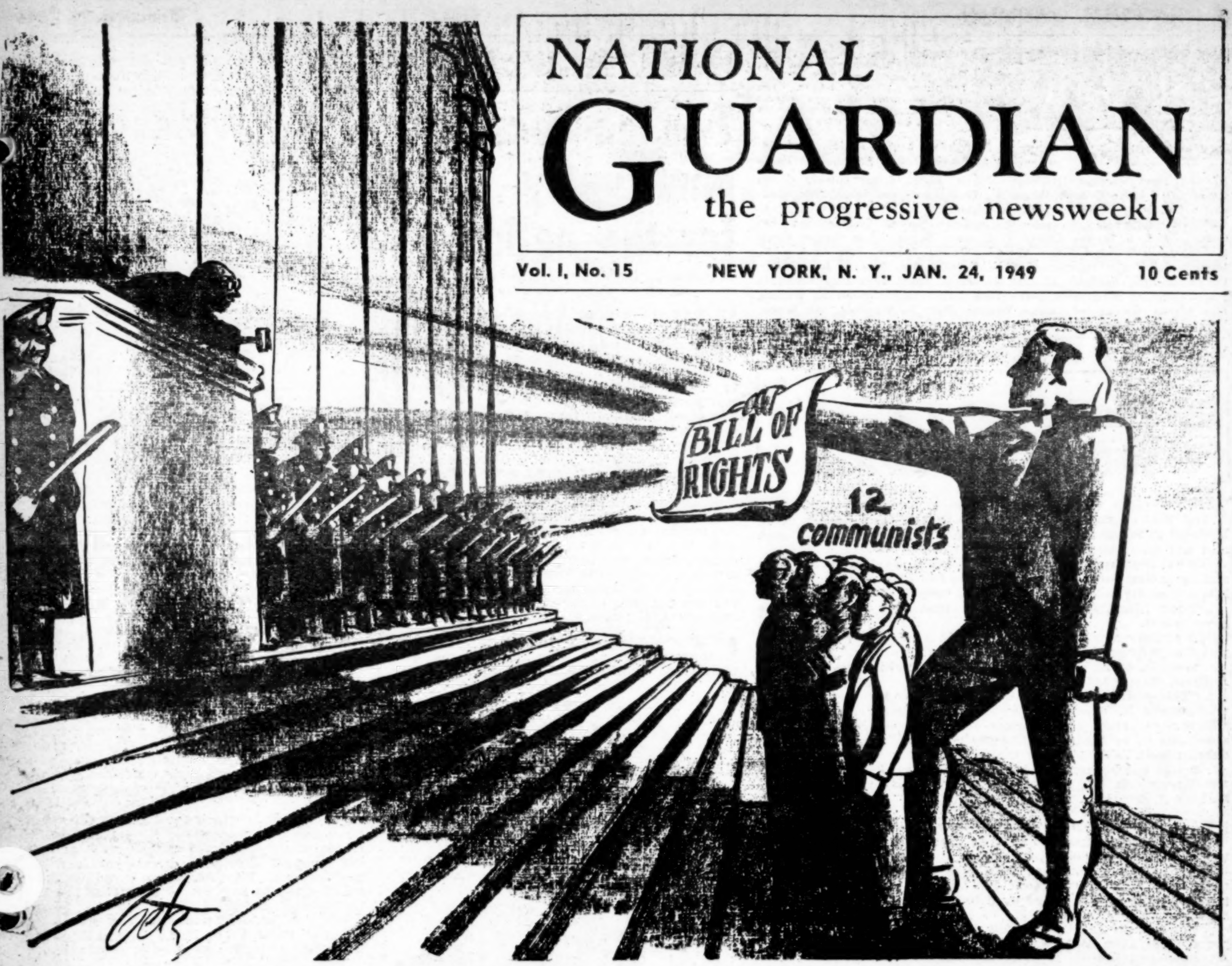

For monkish ignorance and superstition . . . we have substituted the free right to the unbounded exercise of reason and freedom of opinion. —*Thomas Jefferson, June, 1826*

John Foster Dulles admits:

'We could settle Berlin any time'

WASHINGTON

WHILE President Truman in his Inaugural Address redoubled American defiance of the eastern "threat," his top advisers were scratching their heads for a way out of the dilemmas in which U. S. foreign policy is bogging down.

This is clear from an "off-the-record" talk by John Foster Dulles, chief U. S. delegate to the U.N. in Paris, before the Overseas Writers' Assn. here on Jan. 10, which NATIONAL GUARDIAN has obtained and verified.

Dulles made the following statements:

1. There could be a settlement of the Berlin situation at any time on the basis of a Soviet currency for Berlin and our right to bring in food, raw materials and fuel to the western sectors.

The present situation is, however, to U. S. advantage for propaganda purposes. We are getting credit for keeping the people of Berlin from starving: the Russians are getting the blame for their privations.

2. If we settle Berlin, then we have to deal with Germany as a whole. We will have to deal immediately with a Russian proposal for withdrawal of all occupation troops and a return of Germany to the Germans.

"Frankly I do not know what we would say to that," Mr. Dulles was quoted. "We cannot keep up the airlift indefinitely."

BUSINESS DILEMMA. What do such statements by Dulles mean, at a time when the U. S. concentrates on strengthening western Europe through a North Atlantic military pact on top of the Marshall Plan? Immediate reaction here was that they were aimed at preparing the public for a possible U. S. retreat on the German deadlock.

Other informed opinion linked Dulles' views with those of a section of American business. This section is conscious of the great dilemma of U. S. policy: the impossibility of reviving western European (Marshall Plan) countries without reviving their trade with eastern European ("Communist") countries.

Furthermore these American businessmen are scared of limiting the world market by exclusion of eastern Europe, which does not conform to Marshall Plan restrictions. If that continues, then rebuilding western European industry means building a dangerous competitor in America's own markets.

FACTS OF LIFE. These ideas run into head-on conflict with Truman's re-declaration of the cold war. The dilemma of U. S. business grows in the face of world movements which 20 Marshall Plans cannot halt.

In China, U. S. enterprise must shortly do business with a Communist government, no matter what brave words the President may utter. The alternative is to sacrifice billions of dollars in investments, markets and sources of supply.

Meanwhile our European policy continues to exclude markets and sources of supply in eastern Europe, which are desperately needed if U. S. and western European industries are both to flourish.

Changes in policy are required to resolve this dilemma. The Dulles talk is taken as an indication that there will be some changes made. Cool business heads outside the armaments field know that they cannot eat cake with dividend icing and have the cold war (in its present form) too.

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Cedric Belfrage, *Editor* John T. McManus, *General Manager* James Aronson, *Executive Editor*

STAFF: Elmer Bendiner (National); Robert Joyce (Better Living); George Orban (Art); Helen G. Scott (Research); Leon Summit and Robert Light (Business & Circulation); John B Stone (Washington).

CONTRIBUTORS: Sidney Alexander, Arthur Calder-Marshall, Emil Carlebach, Earl Conrad, W. E. B. Du Bois, Charles Duff, James Dugan, Sidney Gordon, Kumar Goshal, James Higgins, Arthur Hurwich, Stanley Karnow, Ring Lardner Jr., Norman Mailer, Vito Marcantonio, Clyde R. Miller, Paul Robeson, Joan Rodker, Gordon Schaffer, Frederick L. Schuman, Frank Scully, Fritz Silber, Kathleen Sproul, Johannes Steel, Anna Louise Strong, Paul Sweezy, Henry A. Wallace, Max Werner, George and Eleanor Wheeler, Owen H. Whitfield, Ella Winter, Willard Young, Konni Zilliacus.

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An Editorial

Who's on trial?

THE fruit of a vast and costly effort by a Federal Grand Jury and the telephone-tapping FBI is that 12 men, openly doing business as leaders of the Communist Party, have been indicted and put on trial.

What these men are charged with doing—having certain ideas and spreading them—has been done in full view of the nation. No FBI and no Grand Jury was needed to "expose" it.

Their ideas, it is said, include that of overthrowing the government.

A century ago a Republican said in a famous speech that it was the people's right to overthrow the government.

We refer to Abraham Lincoln, who said in his First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1861:

"This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overoverthrow it."

We do not believe that because Lincoln made that statement the Republican Party should be put on trial with a view to making it illegal.

BUT we know of no statements by the American Communists that the government should be overthrown by force. As we understand the Communist position, it is that the party seeks to disillusion a majority of Americans as to the desirability of capitalism. If and when that can be done, then the capitalist government would be called upon to retire in favor of a socialist government.

But even if the Communists did call for overthrowing the government, the American tradition carried down through Jefferson and Lincoln is that they have a right to do so. It is certainly no compliment to a common-sense majority of Americans to believe that a minority might accomplish such a coup—whether such a minority were Communist or monopolist in nature. The idea that the tiny U.S. Communist Party could succeed in such a coup, even if they desired it, is absurd on its face.

WE know of no political group in America, excepting outright fascists inspired only by hatred, which has always been wrong on every issue. We know of none which has always been right. There is no such thing as infallibility.

Yet any honest reading of history compels the recognition that on the major issues of the past 20 years the Communist Party has been right more often than it has been wrong. This is true even taking into account the widespread and sincere condemnation of the policy of some Communist parties stemming from the Soviet-German pact of 1939.

The Communists were taking active steps to expose and destroy fascism—and to avoid World War II—long before most of their critics came out of their coma. They were found leading the heroic resistance to fascism in every country occupied by Hitler and the Japanese. They speak up for the poor and those least able to defend themselves against flagrant denials of democracy in America. In China today the Communists are, with complete justification and utmost competence, doing just what Lincoln said a democratic people can do when their government no longer satisfies them.

If their doctrine is as false as Pres. Truman says, it is remarkable, to say the least, how often it has led them into morally commendable positions and actions.

Honest Americans might do well to bear in mind that before this year is out, nearly half the people of the world will be living under predominantly Communist governments.

These are people we must learn to live with—or to die with in a mass slaughter which no-one can "win" as wars of the past have been won.

AS for the 12 Communists now making front page news all over America, it is not they who are on trial.

If they are convicted, almost all Americans will feel it where it hurts. Read the history of other countries where the Communist Party has been outlawed. In every case this has been the curtain-raiser to attacks on the people's living standards, on their unions and their civil rights, including those of the very people who joined the hue and cry against the first victims.

Ideas cannot be killed by putting those who hold them behind bars. They never have been and never will be.

It is the common sense of America that is on trial in New York's Federal Court.

The Editors

Henry A. Wallace

Truman charts bankruptcy for the nation

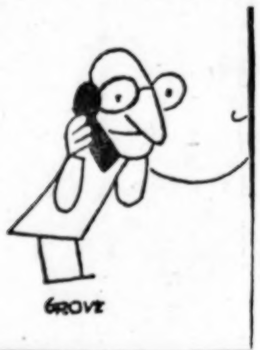
Following is the text of Henry A. Wallace's statement on the President's Inaugural Address:

IT WAS the earnest hope of the people of America and the world that President Truman would dedicate his new administration to the establishment of a common ground of understanding with Russia as a basis for peace in one world. That hope was kindled by his statement in Kansas City on Dec. 27 when he expressed confidence that all outstanding differences with Russia could be resolved and the cold war ended during his term of office.

Today, President Truman shattered that hope. Nothing has occurred since Dec. 27 to require a change in the position the President took, except statements from Russian spokesmen reiterating their desire to find the basis for mutual understanding. Today the President gave his answer. It comes closer to a declaration of war than the inaugural address of any peace-time President in our history. His statement that capitalism and communism cannot live together in one world makes war the only eventual alternative.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN makes it plain that no effort will be made to arrive at a peaceful understanding with Russia for the settlement of differences. Instead, he proposes measures which will irrevocably split the world into two hostile camps in preparation for war. He asks for a treaty establishing a North Atlantic Military Alliance aimed at Russia, and authority to use American military equipment and military advice to arm western Europe for war. This grave step would violate the unbroken tradition of 150 years against involvement in peace-time military alliances outside of the Western Hemisphere.

It is important for Americans to recognize that the armed conflict for which the President is asking the country to prepare is a war against almost half of the people of the globe — the 250,000,000 inhabitants of Russia and eastern Europe, the 500,000,000 Chinese people who are about to establish a coalition government with Communist participation, and the millions in western Europe and Asia who are adherents of some form of Marxist socialism.



"Stalin? I'm not home."

The conspicuous failure of American policy in China and Greece, not mentioned in the President's address, is convincing proof that we cannot successfully fight ideas with guns. Yet, the President's only answer is to call for more guns.

THE President calls for a "bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas." These are fine words with which I and all men of good will would be in complete agreement. But it is evident from the President's address that the scientific advance we are preparing to give half the world is the atomic bomb. So long as that is our purpose, help to the underdeveloped areas can only take the form of a thinly veiled imperialism under cover of which great American corporations will exploit the backward peoples of the world.

The program which President Truman proposes spells a permanent Federal budget in excess of $45,000,000,000 a year, with increasing amounts devoted to armaments and war preparations. The American people will be called upon to pay the cost of that program through the sacrifice of the domestic reforms which the President promised during the campaign—through lower living standards, greater insecurity and the loss of basic freedoms.

NO STATEMENT by any American leader has ever so clearly spelled eventual bankruptcy for our nation.

We of the Progressive Party insist that there is an alternative course. Speaking for the conscience of the peace loving people of America, we insist that the two systems of capitalism and communism can and must live together in one world of peace. We declare that if, as we believe, our American system is superior, it must demonstrate that superiority by giving to the people who live under it greater abundance, freedom and security.

All Americans who love peace and are attached to the principles on which the United Nations was founded must make their voices heard, and heard now, in opposition to the fatal steps which President Truman has proposed. It is not yet too late for a conference between the President and Premier Stalin to compose Soviet-American differences and end the cold war. To protect their own security and freedom, and guard world peace, all Americans must demand that this course be taken, while time still remains.

A challenge to the press of U. S.

WHEN is the free press of the United States going to take note of the fact that six Americans face death in Trenton, N. J., for a crime they did not commit?

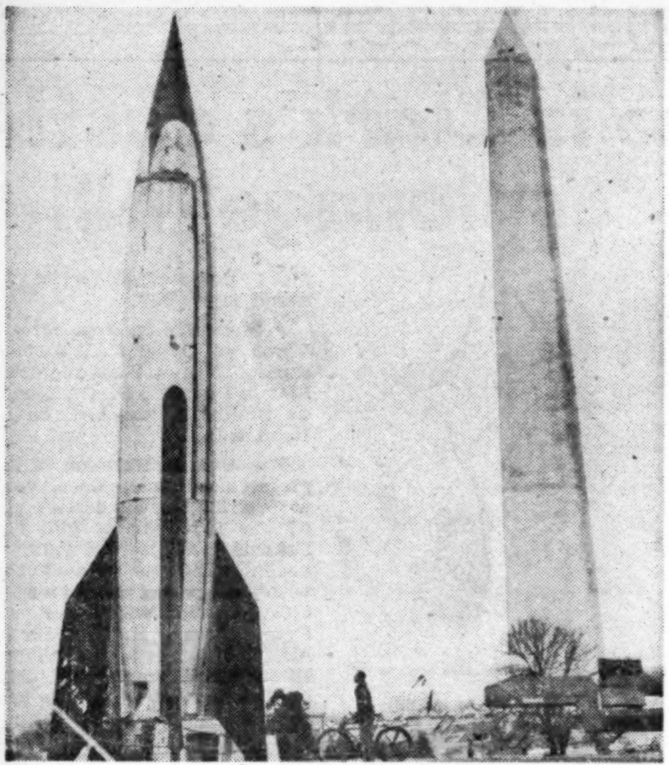
How long will northern States and the northern press keep up the smug pretense that only "backward" Dixie denies justice to Americans because their skin is dark?

The people of England, France and other countries know more about the Trenton disgrace than the people of America. Their newspapers, reduced by paper shortages to four to eight pages, have featured the story. In England a committee of prominent citizens has been formed to protest against the shame of New Jersey.

The "New York Times," with its 40 to 60 pages daily and hundreds of pages on Sunday, cannot find an inch for these six ment waiting to die. Even the more liberal papers have ignored this new Scottsboro case, with the exception of the "New York Star," which last week reported it for the first time.

Does American freedom of the press include freedom to connive at legal murder?

O. John Rogge, former Assistant U.S. Attorney General, last Thursday was retained by three of the Trenton six to prepare their appeal. The papers were signed in the death house at Trenton, where the six Negroes have been held since their conviction on a murder charge last August. The three men who signed are Collis English, James Thorpe and Ralph Cooper.



This apparently is the Defense Department's idea of an appropriate exhibit for Inaugural week—and in view of the cold war budget, it probably is. On the left is a Nazi V-2 rocket, the kind that killed hundreds in London. On the right is a proud people's memorial to George Washington. Which memorial do you prefer?

Max Werner

The military budget broken down looks like a broken down plan

By Max Werner

PRESIDENT Truman has asked $15,900,000,000 for military expenditures in the coming year. This is a far higher sum than the total amount of federal expenditures in 1918 ($12,700,000,000) when the U. S. effort in World War I was at its peak. It is higher than the entire expenditures in the 1941 budget ($12,800,000,000) which already included preparations for World War II. And it is more than five times higher than appropriations for social welfare, health, security and housing combined.

The Hoover Commission on Reorganization of the Executive Branch of the Government has criticized "the tide of extravagance, waste and duplication in our fighting forces." Yet the broadside was directed against accidental defects, not against our system of military expenditure.

What is the reason that "the costs of the military establishment are unduly high?" It is the striking disparity between the gigantic overall costs and the rather meager actual military outlay.

TOPHEAVY. Of the $15,900,000,000 this year the financing of the combat organization will come from a very thin margin, only after some $13,000,000,000 or more are spent as a general investment and for maintenance costs.

Pay and maintenance for officers and men on active duty will require $5,000,000,000. Procurement, supply and services, the larger part of them for civilian workers engaged in production, maintenance and administration, amount to another $4,000,000,000. About $1,500,000,000 will be spent for Universal Military Training and the so-called "civilian components," the National Guard and the Organized Reserve.

With ten divisions (only four combat), with one-third of one armored division, and with some 3,000 planes in active service in the Air Force, the ratio of overhead expenses per unit becomes startling. A private enterprise operating on this ratio of tremendous overall expenses would go bankrupt.

OLD FASHIONED. The biggest single item of factual military procurement goes to aviation—about $2,300,000,000. Yet this fiscal year very few hundred new bombers and a limited number of new fighters will enter the service. Nevertheless it is said in the message that "the 1950 program gives priority to air power." The number of Air Force groups has been contracted from 70 demanded by Air Force Secretary Symington to 48 groups.

Nor can it be claimed that this huge military budget is warranted because of the need for weapons of latest design and new strategic ideas. The share of the Navy in this year's defense budget is as big as that of the Army and of the Air Force. Yet there can be hardly any doubt that sea power today is growing strategically obsolescent.

On the other hand the Air Force is now cancelling its jet bomber and fighter orders and returning to the regular propeller-driven types, though the regular bomber is being obviously outdated.

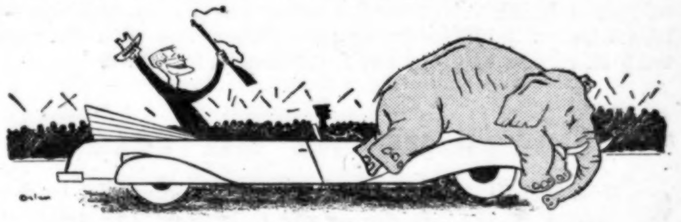
Thus a strange combination emerges: huge military budget and a scarcity of combat units—and for the moment a rather conservative technology.

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

The Inaugural

BY NOON last Thursday a crowd of 125,000 had gathered at the East Plaza of the Capitol. There was a flourish of trumpets. There were prayers from minister, rabbi and priest. The President, in winged collar and frock coat, took the oath, then delivered his first Inaugural Address.

He said that in pursuit of its aims for "a just and lasting peace . . . the U. S. and other likeminded nations find themselves directly opposed by a regime with contrary aims and a totally different concept of life." He denounced communism as "a false philosophy."



He called for expanded American investments of capital and skills in undeveloped areas of the world. He indicated that such investments might be guaranteed.

He asked support for the North Atlantic Alliance, and for continuation of the European Recovery Program.

"NEW LOOK IMPERIALISM." GUARDIAN's Washington correspondent John B. Stone wired this report:

"The bitterness of the President's attack on communism and Communist countries might seem in flat contradiction to the tone of self-righteous altruism with which he approached the subject of 'more than half the people of the world [who] are living in conditions approaching misery.'

"But study of his proposal reveals that it is intimately tied in with hate for Russia. In the last analysis, it is old fashioned imperialism dressed up with the New Look.

"The real key to the new Truman plan lies in this sentence: 'Guarantees to the investor must be balanced by guarantees in the interest of the people whose resources and whose labor go into these developments.'

"Relate this to America's most momentous economic problem of today, our shrinking exports, and the answer is plain: We are out to capture the markets of the world. Russia is the greatest obstacle to this. So we must oppose Russia.

"If we must continue our hate-Russia program in order to export, we must be prepared for the consequence of hate—the possibility of war. So the rest of the four-point program falls into place: the Marshall Plan, the Western Hemisphere Defense Pact, the North Atlantic Defense Pact and, if necessary, lend-lease military aid to any country which will side with us against Russia."

THE REACTION. Comment in and out of Congress for the most part was guarded. Almost everyone thought the speech was "strong," but there were many anxious requests for a "spelling out" of what the President had asked. The

Continued in wide column on next page.

Step right up, folks...

By James Haddon

WASHINGTON

INAUGURATIONS of the future will require a Four-Year Planning Commission, electronic calculators, and at least two split atoms. The job is getting too big for the human brain unaided.

There can be no belittling the job Inauguration Committee Chairman Melvin Hildreth did. The assemblage of forty-odd thousand folding chairs alone is a staggering achievement.

But the human mind just cannot cope with the multitude and variety of unpredictable and unforeseeable problems a modern Inauguration raises.

Most costly oversight, though not the most troublesome, was the failure to add the amusement tax to the sales price of the grandstand seats for the parade. It's not likely an old circus lover like Mr. Hildreth could have doubted the amusement value of his show; it must have been just plain human failing.

MUCH more serious, one of Mr. Hildreth's lieutenants planned the grandstands too low and too far back from a curb. This created panic when it was remembered how irate a paying customer becomes when the crowd in front jumps to its feet at moments of high excitement.

What if the standees took up their early vigil in front of the stands? Those in the lower rows would have to stand and each successive row would have to follow suit. All of those folding chairs would have been assembled for naught.

Last-minute efforts were made to move the grandstands forward, with no success. Every policeman was called to the effort but their numbers were too few.

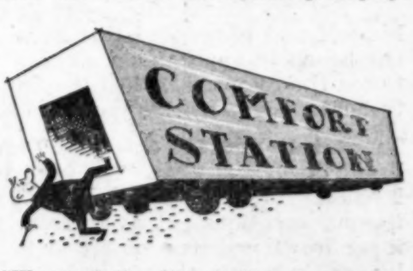
Then there was the intriguing problem of what to do about grandstand ticket holders who approached their stand from the wrong direction to find the parade between them and their seats. Washington's betting population was willing to lay 2 to 1 that more than 500 would never get to their seats. Mr. Hildreth had provided neither catwalks, subways, nor helicopters.

ANOTHER serious oversight was the failure to provide an exchange for the trading of tickets to the various events. Of course, the tickets were marked "Non-Transferable." But human nature being what it is, a black market sprang up in the absence of legitimate government control.

One ingenious Congressman was forced to improvise his own exchange. It seems he had promised one constituent more than his combined ticket holdings. He was desperate to the point of circularizing his colleagues with the offer of 500 Farmer's Bulletins (printed by the Agriculture Department) for one ticket. Black market prices were soon set at 500 Bulletins or 600 of the Children's Bureau's popular vote-getter, "Infant Care."

BUT to me, despite all his other failings, Mr. Hildreth has earned a lasting place in American history by a great Inaugural innovation. One morning this week there appeared on the corner of 17th and G Streets, NW, across the street from the old State Department building, a gigantic trailer truck in glistening stainless steel. It was a tribute to Mr. Hildreth's foresight and America's productive genius. It was a mammoth portable comfort station.

I made my way into the YMCA, which is just down the street, and asked one of the employees if he had seen the trailer. He replied promptly:



"We need it with all the drunks descending on Washington."

Down in the locker room I turned to an acquaintance and told him of my conversation with the YMCA worker, adding: "It will never do for the drunks. The entrance to the comfort station is at least two feet off the ground." He, being a statistician for the Bureau of Labor Statistics, was of the opinion that the height was deliberate in order to keep the drunks out. He called it a "selection factor."

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

most forthright criticism came from Henry A. Wallace, who said the Inaugural Message was an invitation to national bankruptcy. (See Wallace text on Page 2.)

After the speech the President and his family lunched quickly and joined the parade. There were marching troops, armadas of airplanes, great floats, brass bands, and a calliope borrowed from Cole's Circus. And when night fell there was the inaugural ball. Margaret Truman wore a gown made of 35 yards of tulle. It was a shade between champagne pink and shell pink, hereafter to be known as Margaret pink. And Mrs. Truman looked well in a gown of panne black velvet with a collar heavily encrusted with hand-drawn white alencon lace. When she was through with it, it was to go to the Smithsonian Institute.

Communists on trial

ON SEPT. 21, 1933, Georgi Dimitrov, Communist leader, told a Nazi court during the Reichstag Fire trial: "I am speaking here not as one accused but as one accusing."

Last week in a Federal courtroom in New York attorneys for 11 leaders of the U.S. Communist Party told a judge that not they but the entire judicial system would be put on trial.

The defendants stood charged with adhering to and spreading a certain belief. The belief, the indictment said, could lead to overthrow of the government by force and violence.

SELECTED JURIES. Defense Attorney George W. Crockett, Jr., a Negro, said: "We can't escape the conclusion that this is a political trial. We hope to convince the people of the whole world that no political trial can be justly tried in this district."

The defense charged that juries in the district were selected in a manner that excluded the poor, the radical and the Negro. The primary source of panel lists, they claimed, were The Engineers' Directory, Who's Who in New York, Poor's Directory of Directors, The Social Register and college alumni publications.

System on trial

The battery of defense attorneys on Wednesday offered a score of reasons why Judge Harold R. Medina should disqualify himself in favor of a judge from another district. They said: He was part of the judicial system that established the selection of juries with a purpose: his superior, who fathered that system, might be called as a witness; his associates in court might be called to testify, and he would have to pass on their credibility.

To all such pleas the Judge listened. He sat in his great red-leather-backed swivel chair, his slender hands poised finger to finger in front of him. Most of the press pointed out his resemblance to film actor Adolphe Menjou.

Then he glanced at the clock on the wall opposite. It said one o'clock. "Motion denied," he said, "and court is recessed for lunch."

THE QUALIFICATION. On the following day the defense offered still another reason for the judge to disqualify himself. The defense might call him as a witness and that would clearly rule him out as judge. Judge Medina said, "I don't know if there's any statute on that." Then he recessed the court.

But on Friday the judge again refused to disqualify himself and announced that he would not step down from the bench to appear as a witness. The defense, which had taken the offensive, called the first of a series of witnesses to tell how New York's juries are selected.

TEARS PERMITTED. Once Defense Attorney Crockett broke down and wept. The next day he apologized. Judge Medina said: "You certainly wept and wept profusely, and if your emotions get away from you I suppose you'll do it again. I make no objection to it, but I think that it's better that counsel refrain from weeping in court."

Crocket said: "Thank you, your Honor. I appreciate your permission to weep."

The judge said: "In moderation, of course."

O Maryland

IN THE Constitution of the State of Maryland there is a section termed "the right to rebellion." Last week editorial writers and orators were trying to square that

Continued in wide column on next page.

THE NATION

Your home is Clark's castle under his 'espionage' bill

By John B. Stone
Guardian Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON

If any Congressmen who go in for reading legal verbiage were able to find a quiet moment during the pre-Inauguration hubbub, they had a rich session with a piece of writing presented by Attorney General Tom C. Clark.

He presented leaders of both houses and both parties with a 14-page mimeographed document embodying "conclusions which were unanimously reached" by the Interdepartmental Intelligence Committee (Army, Navy, Air Force, FBI, Justice Dept.) "after a thoroughgoing study beginning in 1945."

This correspondent overcame his aversion to closely typed legal language and read the thing. The reactions were such that he hurried to the office of a well known liberal Washington attorney who asked not to be quoted because he intends action against Mr. Clark's recommendations.

THE FINDINGS. Mr. Clark's bill, which was promptly turned over to the judiciary committees of House and Senate, we found, would:

- Allow any officer of the FBI, Army, Air Force or Navy Intelligence to tap telephone wires, or to demand letters, telegrams or radiograms from any individual under pretext of investigating espionage.

- Make any individual subject to a $10,000 fine and two years' imprisonment "who shall fail to comply forthwith with the request of any duly authorized person" for such documents.

- Allow the use of evidence so gathered "when such evidence is offered in a criminal or civil proceeding in which the government is a party."

- Force any Americans to register as foreign agents "who have knowledge of, or have received instructions in, the espionage, counterespionage, or sabotage service or tactics of a foreign government or a foreign political party," unless such knowledge was acquired as a civil or military agent of the U.S. Failure to register here constitutes the crime, so knowledge acquired 20 years ago would cause a person who has it to be guilty if he fails to register.

TOM CLARK

- Remove the statute of limitations (now three years) from operation in peacetime espionage, thus making an individual liable during his entire life.

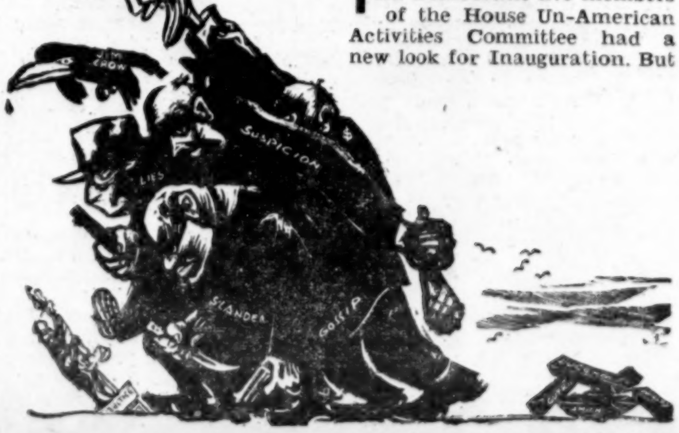
There were other provisions but the liberal attorney selected these as the dangerous ones.

FAR BEYOND TAP. "Wire tapping itself is not selective," he said. "Once you start listening you hear all the conversations on a given phone. Any evidence picked up on this tap could be used, as the law is now proposed, in any case the government is a party to—say a Mann Act case or a Dyer interstate auto theft case violation. Seems a little stringent. And of course it goes much farther than wire tapping. It includes a fellow's letters, telegrams, and all records of communication."

About being forced to register when you have acquired knowledge, even though it be purely academic, the attorney didn't think they would dare an attempt to prove guilt simply by association with the Progressive Party. He admitted, though, it was possible as the proposal is worded and added:

"The government already has built up a fantastic story woven of stool-pigeon fabrications, about an espionage school supposed to have been run in Moscow. Looks to me as if they would use these stoolies to put the finger on anybody they might be after, if they got a law like this."

THE Democratic five members of the House Un-American Activities Committee had a new look for Inauguration. But most progressives were not much impressed.



Drawing by Korf

For one thing, Rep. John S. Wood of Georgia, a member during the notorious regime of Martin Dies and Dies' successor as chairman, was back in the head seat.

Rep. Burr P. Harrison of Virginia, another member, voted to override the President's veto of the Taft-Hartley bill. Rep. Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania voted to support that veto but voted against a strengthened wage-hour act. Rep. Morgan H. Moulder of Missouri, a newcomer, has yet to be heard from; Rep. John McSweeney of Ohio has been out of Congress since 1940.

Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.) minced no words: "The Un-American Activities Committee can no more be reformed than Adolf Hitler or Mussolini could be reformed. It is undemocratic in concept and the mere naming of five attorneys to membership will not change that concept."

GOP IS LATE. Of course John Rankin (D-Miss.) will not be on the committee. But that was no fault of the "all-lawyers" rule. He is an attorney. He got caught in a rule which forbids the chairman of one committee from serving with the Un-Americans. He'd rather hang on to his Veterans Committee leadership.

Republicans still had not announced their choice for their four places. They have two hold-overs: J. Parnell Thomas, now under indictment of charges of salary kickbacks, and Richard M. Nixon of California. Two others were defeated at the polls. Republican leaders were surprised at the number of volunteers eager to serve on the Committee.

While this was going on, Rep. Arthur Klein (D-N.Y.) called for an investigation of the current literary activities of Robert E. Stripling, former chief investigator of the group, who has sold to a Hearst syndicate a series of articles under the title, "The Inside Story of U.S. Reds," for a reputed $30,000.

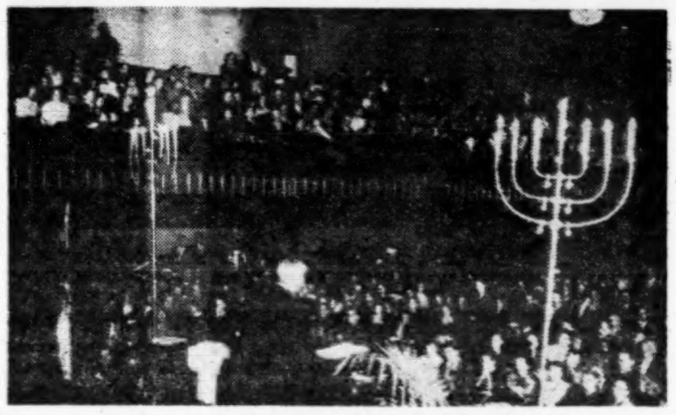
CONGRESS last week was busy mainly in organizing itself and getting squared away for future action on major legislation.

The Senate surprised no one when it voted 83 to 6 on Tuesday to confirm President Truman's appointment of Dean Gooderham Acheson as Secretary of State. George Marshall's resignation took effect on Thursday. Although Acheson satisfied the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that he could be trusted to be tough with Russia, six Republicans voted against him on the Senate floor and attacked him as "an appeaser of Russia," as "an international do-gooder," and as "a Wall Streeter."

House approval of a bill to raise the President's salary to $100,000 a year with a tax-free $50,000 expense account was rushed to permit the President to sign it before the Inauguration.

Mr. and Mrs. Smith (7,000 strong) go to Washington for freedom's sake

By William A. Reuben



They met at Metropolitan A.M.E. Church

SEVEN thousand American voters went to their capital last week for a redress of grievances. Organized as a "Freedom Crusade" by the Civil Rights Congress, it was the largest delegation ever to come to Washington. They were greeted at the station by a battalion of Washington police.

The all-day civil rights legislative conference that opened the Crusade on Monday discussed action on Negro rights, thought control, women's rights, and the attacks on labor, the foreign born and the Communist Party executive board. Present were 680 delegates from CIO, AFL and independent unions, from youth and student groups, from American Labor and Progressive Party branches, from Communist Party clubs and many other organizations.

On Sunday night Walter Winchell had announced that the delegates were coming armed with baseball bats. At the great Turner's Arena rally on Tuesday Len Goldsmith, national director of CRC, said: "We have a lot of work to do and we're going to get it done in an orderly manner. Discipline is the key to our job today."

The crusaders filed out of the arena, broke up into delegations, and set forth on their missions.

TRUMAN TOO BUSY. Here is what happened to some of them:

President Truman refused to see the delegation led by CRC board chairman George Marshall, which included Bessie Mitchell, whose brother and two relatives are in Trenton's death house, and Mrs. Isaiah Nixon, widowed because her Negro husband insisted on voting in Georgia.

The President's special assistant, David K. Niles, was also too busy. Finally they saw Phileo Nash, assistant to the assistant. Mr. Nash said: "The President's position on these matters has been stated publicly."

When asked what action was planned, Mr. Nash remained silent.

CRC's Executive Secretary, William L. Patterson, led a delegation to Vice-President Barkley that had more success. After being chased around and delayed for more than an hour by police, clerks, secretaries and attendants, a Senate pageboy, refusing to accept a message the delegation had prepared for the Vice-President who was on the Senate floor, gave them permission to send in a card announcing their presence.

Thirty minutes later Barkley came out to greet a party of four Kentuckians who had come to the capital for the Inauguration.

"I'M AGAINST IT." They were chatting gayly when Patterson walked over, introduced himself and his delegation, and asked the Vice-President for his views on the filibuster.

"Oh, I'm against it," Barkley said. "But there's nothing I can do, since I'm no longer a Senator."

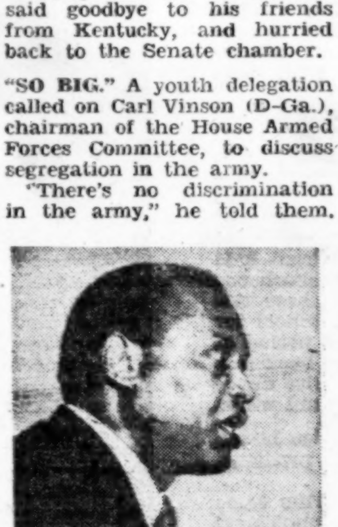
What about jimcrow in Washington, Patterson asked.

"There's nothing I can do," the Vice-President said. "I have no way of making these people here do anything they don't want to do."

A woman from Georgia asked the Vice-President what the Government intended to do to prevent lynchings. He didn't answer. He turned his back abruptly on the delegation, said goodbye to his friends from Kentucky, and hurried back to the Senate chamber.

"SO BIG." A youth delegation called on Carl Vinson (D-Ga.), chairman of the House Armed Forces Committee, to discuss segregation in the army.

"There's no discrimination in the army," he told them.



Paul Robeson spoke...

"The only reason Negroes are segregated is because the army's so big."

Rep. McCormick (D-Mass.) said that he hadn't read the indictments against the 12 Communists, but that he knew all were guilty.

"Communists are not Americans—they're outside the law," the Congressman informed his constituents.

HEAVY TRAFFIC. The delegation from New York City 20th A. D., 250 strong and one of the largest, had an interesting time with their Congressman, Sol Bloom.

A police captain halted the delegation across the street from the House Office Building. After an hour, when word came from Bloom that he was waiting for the delegation, the police captain said traffic was so heavy that they couldn't all go together; they'd have to move out in groups of 20.

Altogether, it took almost two hours to get across the street, past the policemen in the lobby, into the Congressman's anteroom.

"THAT'S MY BUSINESS." After a while, Bloom came out. He looked nervous and unhappy, and held tightly on to the doorknob as he greeted the delegation.

A young Negro was the first spokesman. He asked the Congressman for his views on FEPC, poll tax and anti-lynch bills.

The question made Bloom indignant. "I'm against those things, always have been. My record speaks for itself."

"What do you plan to do about them, Congressman?" the Negro inquired.

"There's nothing I can do," Bloom said. "That's up to Congress. Next question."

"Congressman, sir," said a youth in his early twenties, "what is your position on military training?"

"I'm in favor of it."

"May I ask your reasons, sir?"

"That's my business," Bloom said angrily.

FAMOUS LAST WORDS. Questions about repeal of Taft-Hartley, the Un-American Committee, Loyalty Orders, the Smith Act, and prevention of another attempted Mundt-Nixon Bill, were put to the Congressman, who said he favored them all. "I stand right with Truman," he said.

Someone else spoke up then and urged the Congressman to do something to dismiss the indictments against the leaders of the Communist Party.

"I have nothing to do with that, that's a judicial matter entirely up to the courts. If the court finds they're Communists, they'll convict them." These were the Representative's parting words; he ducked into his private office and closed the door firmly.

•

As they entrained for the 25 states from which they had come, the crusaders were busy making plans to tell their friends, neighbors and fellow-workers about the callousness, indifference, apathy and ineptitude they had encountered, and discussing ways to fight back.

Speaking to the delegates just before they went home, Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.) said to them:

"Maybe the President and Congress wouldn't see you, but I assure you that tonight in Washington the politicians are much more concerned about what went on here today than they are about plans for the Inauguration on Thursday."

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

right with a new measure introduced by the State's own "Commission on Subversive Activities."

The new legislation, urged in the Commission's report, would provide a fine of $20,000 or 20 years' imprisonment for anyone convicted of "acting with intent to alter the constitutional government by unlawful means."

It would provide expressly for the outlawing of the Communist Party (2,700 members in Maryland) or of any other party designated as "subversive."

SPECIFICATIONS. To qualify as subversive an organization must advocate "force and violence" or have as its objective "a form of government controlled or dominated by a foreign government." Membership in such an organization after Sept. 1, 1949, would be punishable by a $5,000 fine or five years' imprisonment or both.

The **Baltimore Sun** found the proposal laudable but loose. An editorial objected:

". . . As the statute now stands, it seems altogether likely that if the honest, kindly and patriotic Mr. Norman Thomas, the perennial presidential candidate of our Socialist Party, were to go to London to attend a meeting of men of like mind, he could be prosecuted and the Socialist Party in Maryland could be outlawed."

The Sun also feared that " . . . if any large number (of those tried under the law) were found not guilty, as could very well happen if the public disliked the spectacle, the State would become a laughing stock and the Communists would reap the benefit."

Unemployment

A STILL slender but growing unemployment statistic haunted the nation last week. Though economists worried about it and labor leaders planned shorter work weeks to make the jobs go around, news analysts tried strenuously to calm people.

A headline in the **N. Y. Herald Tribune** said: "SURVEY SHOWS UNEMPLOYMENT IN U. S. RISING." The Associated Press analysis that followed underneath commented:

"While disturbing to the individuals and communities concerned, Federal and State government experts say there is no cause for alarm. For the country as a whole there are only 2,000,000 unemployed, an unusually low figure. . . ."

Only part of the total effect was felt at unemployment insurance offices. Of the working population of 60,000,000, 33,000,000 are entitled to unemployment benefits. Some of these lined up two blocks long in Baltimore. Maryland's total was up 201% over last year's.

New York State reported 455,000 drawing unemployment benefits, an increase of 65% in the past three months. In one week alone 45,000 joined the rolls.

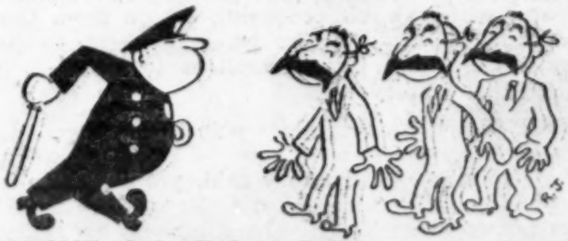
New Hampshire unemployment compensation lists were up 84% over a year ago, Illinois 57%, Kansas 44%, Massachusetts 43%, Wyoming 31%, Colorado 25%, Texas 22%.

MORE WORKERS. On the other hand Michigan (an automobile center) announced that its employment figures were at their highest since the war. Montana figures showed an all-time high. (Increase in employment and unemployment simultaneously were reported in many areas, due to a rise in the total number of workers. Housewives who must take part-time jobs, for example, swell the total.)

When asked the reason for present unemployment, James F. Moore, executive director of the Michigan Unemployment Compensation Commission, attributed it to a "drastic reduction in labor demand."

He added by way of further explanation: "Several major areas report the volume of available job openings at the lowest point since 1942."

Masquerade



IN FRONT of the Federal Building in Los Angeles 200 pickets from the Civil Rights Congress marched in protest. Grand jury hearings in that city had already resulted

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

in the jailing of 15 men and women who declined to discuss their politics or those of their acquaintances with the investigators.

No sooner did they raise banners than a band of men surrounded them and waved masks of Joseph Stalin in their faces. The newcomers' leader put on one of the masks and was at once arrested for violating a Los Angeles ordinance against masquerading.

Unmasked, he was shown to be John Despol, International Representative of the United Steel Workers (CIO). His fellow masqueraders were members of his union. Despol was released when police remembered that he had donned his mask on Federal ground.

WFTU walkout

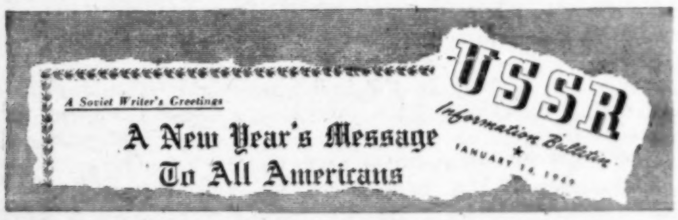
JAMES B. CAREY, secretary-treasurer of the CIO, proposed last week at a meeting of the World Federation of Trade Unions executive committee that the WFTU suspend all activities for one year, then resume operations "if there was a better situation existing among the great powers."

When that suggestion was voted down, Carey walked out of the Paris meeting. With him went Sir Arthur Deakin of the British Trades Union Congress and Edward Kupers of the Netherlands. The CIO had chafed at WFTU's majority position opposing the Marshall Plan.

Canada, it was said, would join the walk. If so, the secessionists would represent about 20,000,000 unionists. Some 50,000,000 would remain. In the U. S. AFL leaders cheered talk of a new purged world federation, led by the labor organizations which walked out of the WFTU.

WORLD ROUNDUP

New peace threat



A Soviet Writer's Greetings

A New Year's Message
To All Americans

USSR
Information Bulletin
January 14, 1949

LAST week the Soviet Embassy in Washington published its monthly information bulletin, and it set correspondents to public pondering. The one page they studied seemed innocuous enough. Its headline was bordered with twining leaves and set in a type face resembling a greeting card.

It said: "Best Wishes for A Happy New Year to the People of the United States." In the article that ran underneath, Soviet writer Boris Izakov wrote:

"It seems to me that this common aim — of all the peoples — is a stable and lasting peace. May we succeed in the New Year of 1949 in taking a decisive step toward achievement of this aim."

STRATEGIST. James Reston of the **New York Times** Washington Bureau analyzed the Izakov pronouncement minutely on page one. He postulated these reasons for the dramatic, though not unprecedented, wish for a happy new year:

"(a) Blocking our rearmament program; (b) discouraging the formation of the Western European union; (c) quelling the anti-Communist underground . . . (d) if these things cannot be achieved, preparing the propaganda argument that we prefer war preparations to their 'peace offers.' "

Chief fear seemed to be that the Russians were in earnest. Reston summed up: "To be confronted now, however, with a Soviet offer to establish a central government in Berlin and withdraw all occupying troops from Germany and Austria would be an embarrassment to our negotiators, though they would hesitate to admit it in public." (See Dulles story, page 1.)

IT'S A PLOT. Some commentators pointed to Communist statements in other parts of the world which showed a distaste for capitalism. This, they said, proved how new and therefore significant was Izakov's "Happy New Year."

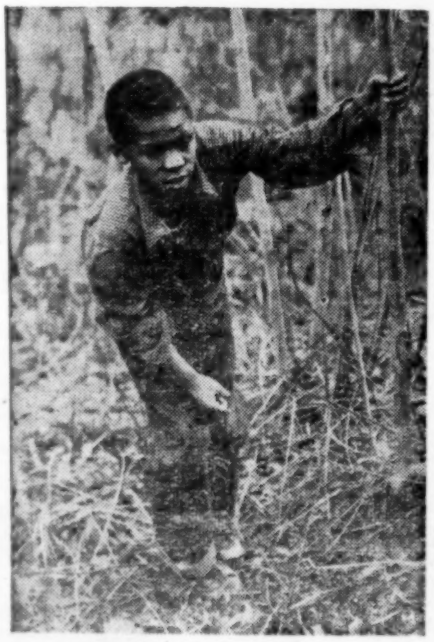
Others put together similar cheerful notes by French Communist leader Marcel Cachin and Italian Communist leader Palmiro Togliatti. These, they said, proved that New Year greetings were part of a consistent party line.

Continued in wide column on page 8

'The Quiet One'—fine and sens

If you're as lonely as Donald is, all you learn is more terrifying loneliness. Donald's kind of freedom is solitary confinement.

Children who buy their friends will do almost anythi
yet how to keep this



So Donald came to Wiltwyck. . . . He was still paralyzed by his memories months afterward.

At last,
took the
first frie

By Virginia Stevens

NOT since "Shoe Shine," the Italian film released in this country more than a year ago, has there been a film with such sensitive and compassionate handling of children as "The Quiet One." This film, a dramatic feature-length story about underprivileged kids, will be released early next month by Mayer & Burstyn.

"It was a tough one to make," said Sydney Myers, the director, in an interview last week. This was Myers' first directorial assignment, but he came to it with a good background—the editorship of 50 documentaries (he was chief film editor for OWI during the war).

Myers had to work with non-professional children as actors, disturbed children—kids from Harlem and other slum neighborhoods—children unwanted and unloved. These kids had found their way to Wiltwyck School for Boys at Esopus, N. Y., after a long period of delinquency, and were being guided back to a normal life under the patient and wise direction of progressive teachers, Negro and white.

MYERS and his two associates, Helen Levitt, photographer, and Janice Loeb, producer, wrote the story of a typical child.

The result is a film with a terrific emotional impact, an enlightening psychological study of what happens to a child who is not loved.

Myers' early career as a violinist was particularly helpful in this film. He uses music as an effective emotional instrument in the film and in his direction.

"Frequently when a scene seemed too intricate for the kinds to understand in any other way, I counted it out for them," he said. "I gave them physical actions according to beats. I used tones of voice to make them react in the way I needed. Primitive musical response worked when everything else failed.

"They were tremendously sensitive to criticism. It was practically impossible to ask for retakes. No matter how you explained to them, they felt a retake was a result of their own failure to do it right. They felt repulsed. We had to make rehearsals as short as possible and we could work only during their play time."

As a result "The Quiet One" took over a year to make. Nevertheless production costs of only $28,000 make this the cheapest feature length film ever produced.

FOR the part of Donald, Myers found a remarkable Harlem school boy, Donald Thompson. "I told him the story many times," Myers said. "We went over the meaning of each scene. Then, I would give him equivalent situations out of his own experience which he could use to give us the effect we needed."

"The Quiet One" is the first film of the new producing unit, Film Documents, Inc., organized by the three talented young craftsmen. It will be released throughout the country and will also have 16-mm. non-commercial distribution when the commercial runs are over.

The film already has been assured of paying back its costs, the first time this has happened with an independent film in the history of the American documentary film.

The key to Dreiser

He identified himse with people fightin for a place in the s

By Isidore Schneider

THREE years after the death of Theodore Dreiser, the first full-scale biography of him has appeared.*

Its chief virtue is that it is the first. It is rather academic and dull, and it does not pay enough attention to what I think is a key to Dreiser's work and his position in American letters.

A DOER. It is necessary to understand what led Dreiser to active participation in social causes, such as his work with the left-wing League of American Writers in the thirties. Though Dreiser was in his late sixties, he did not merely accept titular offices in the League, but took on what, for him, were exceptionally burdensome tasks, inside the League and out.

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*"Theodore Dreiser, Apostle of Nature. By Robert H. Elias. (Knopf, $4).

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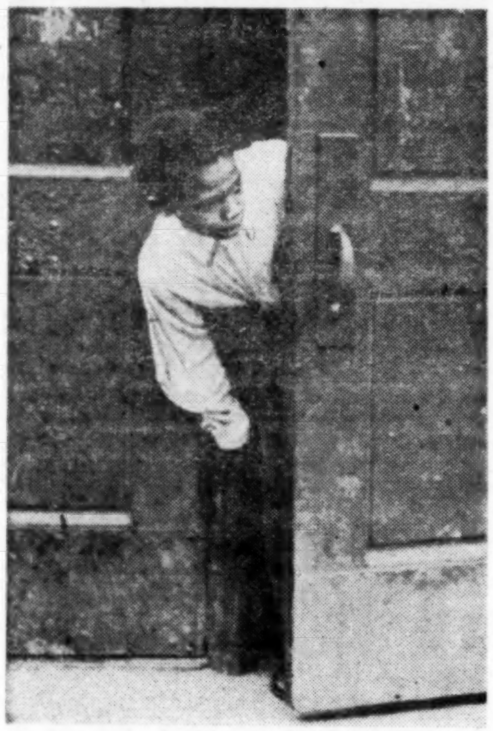
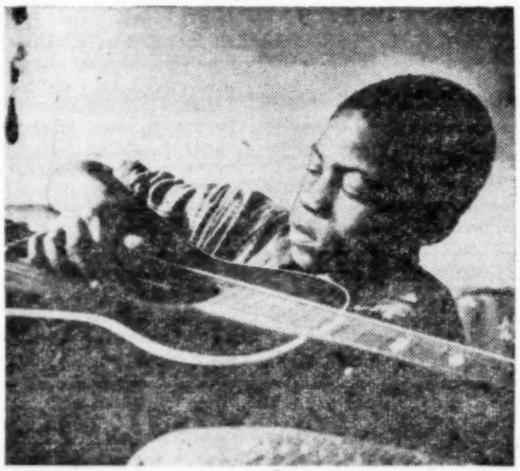
hing to feel they belong. . . . Donald doesn't know
is kind of friend.



When Donald does go to school, he can't seem to learn or pay attention. He's way behind the other children; teacher can't spare time for him.

, against all the terror of rejection, Donald
ne greatest risk of his life . . . and made the
riend of his life — Clarence, the counsellor.



There is no happy ending to Donald's story. The happiest thing we can say is that the worst of his loneliness is over. We can help him now.

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PEOPLE GOING UP. Writers of an easier heritage might also sympathize with the downtrodden, but their sympathy generally had a different cast from Dreiser's. He had himself risen from deprivation and hardship—and through unremitting struggle that, for his further purposes, did not end with personal success.

It is his identification with the lowly of the world, **in their aspirations,** that is the distinguishing mark of Dreiser's sympathy. He was drawn not to people who were down but to people who were lifting themselves up.

SALVATION. This helps to account for the importance Dreiser put on writing—his own among all writing—and on his responsibilities as a writer.

There are few writers, outside of unashamed hacks, who do not put a very high estimation upon their work and their function in society. But their opinions, unanimous in that respect, may vary greatly on the nature of their work and their social role.

Some writers identify themselves with the community and seek to articulate the desires and the feelings of the people around them. This is pronounced among writers risen from the masses who retain a sense of belonging and feel an obligation to lift others up with them.

For writers like Jack London and Maxim Gorky—and Dreiser—writing was first a means of personal, then of social salvation. This gives their work a special seriousness, sometimes a desperation, lacking in the more comfortable writers. The feeling of writing as salvation is to be seen in their autobiographies and their autobiographical fiction.

SERIOUS TASK. In Dreiser's case his sense of the importance of writing was intensified by the devoutness of his religious father, who gave the scriptures a place in the household similar to that in some Hebrew households. The written word was something neither to be set down frivolously nor read frivolously.

Out of such conditioning comes the special and characteristic seriousness in Dreiser's writing, its individual tone—what Dreiser may be said to have of "a style." It is the seriousness of a man who felt that he had an important discovery to make or an important task to accomplish in everything he wrote.

With these things taken into account, critics can come to a fuller understanding of the nature of Dreiser's work and of his role as a writer. They are necessary to any full or proportioned re-evaluation of his work.

DOLLAR STRETCHER

Baby your car -- prices up again

DESPITE rumors in business papers that the auto shortage may be over soon, almost every manufacturer has been hiking prices with the introduction of '49 models. Typical are Studebaker's increases last week of $25 to $60.

For people who need a car but cannot pay the ever higher prices for one, there are several ways to give new life to an old buggy. New motors are easier to get than new cars, since Detroit's biggest shortage has been sheet steel for bodies. Most manufacturers now have replacement motors available for models as far back as '36. Cost, including labor, generally runs about one-fifth to one-fourth the price of a new model.

CHECK IT FIRST. Before you buy a new motor, however, it's wise to check with two or three of the manufacturer's dealers to make sure that a less expensive overhaul won't do. It's smart to get several estimates also for this reason: while the manufacturer may set the price on the motor and parts, the servicemen estimate the labor charges, and they differ widely on the time it will take to do a job.

Doctor
Orban

In all repair jobs, insist that the dealer make out the repair order in your presence and list each item and its price separately.

Another thing that will stretch the life of an old car is an underbody coating. The underbody is sprayed with a liquid containing a rubber or asphalt base which seals it against dirt and moisture. It also eliminates many of the squeaks and rattles that develop with age. Such an undercoating is optional equipment on many new cars today. On old cars, the underbody has to be thoroughly cleaned before the coating is applied.

In the winter months, particularly, you can't baby a car too much: it's a good idea to check exhausts, gaskets and mufflers for leaks. You've probably already changed to winter motor oil, but have you also used winter lubricants to protect springs?

Very slight drop in HCL

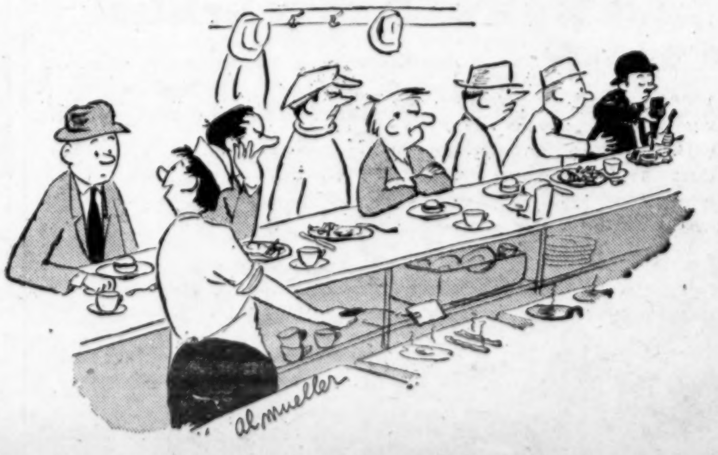
SEARS ROEBUCK's Spring catalog now going into the mails shows an average price reduction of 1.7% from last year's. The slim overall reduction is a factual refutation of current talk that the cost of living is coming down appreciably. There are more dramatic reductions in the big catalog: men's shirts down 25%; rayon piece goods 7 to 16%; women's underwear—11%; washing machines down 5 to 13%. But there is still no significant overall drop.

Break in children's clothing

SHOPPERS soon can look for a few cuts in the high cost of children's clothing. Reductions in knitted cotton clothing this Spring will average about 5%. Boys' cotton trousers will be down about 8%. But woolen garments and corduroys are still firmly priced. There will be better values in children's cotton hosiery; socks and stockings are down as much as 20%. (Sturdiest socks are those with four-ply cotton heel and toe, preferably reinforced with nylon.)

Inexpensive chair

COMFORTABLE and useful occasional chairs at $20 and less have been making price news in New York stores, and are now appearing throughout the country. These chairs are a little different from the standard occasional chairs but advanced styling permits them to offer comfort at a reasonable price. They're low, armless and well-shaped. One nationally-distributed chair, the **Charlton,** is strongly made with welded legs.



"The catsup is gradually working toward you, sir."

WORLD ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on page 6

There seemed to be little disposition in official circles to say, "Same to you, Boris."

Israel election

JEWS and Arabs alike in Israel prepared to elect their first constituent assembly. The chosen candidates will adopt a constitution for the new state and serve as its first parliament. The balloting was scheduled for tomorrow.

Israelis were less concerned with the details of elections or with the problems of writing a constitution than with the spectacle of their enemies in full flight on all fronts.

COLD ROAST. Labor Party members of the British Parliament had prepared to roast Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin in special caucus. But Bevin failed to show up for the roasting. In Parliament Prime Minister Clement Attlee had to shield his prudent Foreign Secretary from the oratory of Winston Churchill.

Full debate on the Middle East was postponed until some time this week. Bevin sought to take the edge off the attack by announcing that if the Israelis sent ships to the Island of Cyprus, they could pick up 11,000 Jews whom the British have held there since Aug. 13, 1946.

There was also talk of possible British recognition which many thought might be forthcoming after tomorrow's election. The story circulated, despite denials from many sources, that Britain's changed attitude was the result of a deal with the U. S. on a joint Middle East policy.

One undisputed factor in Bevin's change of mind was that the Arabs weren't fighting any more. Most were in a mood to talk.

Progress in Rhodes

QUIET TALK. The situation was delicate, the atmosphere restrained, in the Hotel des Roses on the Island of Rhodes. Egyptians and Israelis were continuing their armistice talks there under the chairmanship of U. N. Mediator Ralph Bunche. By universal consent no premature bursts of publicity were to mar the negotiations.

But it was known that settlements on military matters were proceeding smoothly. Out of the talks came an agreement that sent a U. N. convoy speeding through Israeli lines, to bring food to an Egyptian garrison hopelessly besieged at Faluja for the last three months.

Not only Egypt but Lebanon and Transjordan were said to be talking peace, under the table as it were, in private conferences.

DOLLARS, TOO. Greatest triumph was in cash. The Export-Import Bank last week made good one of President Truman's pledges and announced that it had granted a $100,000,000 loan to Israel. Israelis were to repay it with 3½% interest within the next 15 years.

Under the loan's terms none of it was to be used for military purposes, transportation of immigrants into Israel or for welfare services. Israelis said $35,000,000 would be used for agriculture, but not to irrigate the Negev. The rest will go into roads and public works. They hope to raise another $7,000,000 in contributions and loans from private sources.

Oscar Gass, Israeli economist who negotiated the loan, allayed fears that Israel might turn sharply left or East. He said: "We are particularly relying on private capital and hope that American companies will establish branch plants in Israel."

L'affaire Kravchenko

IN 1944 Victor Kravchenko was a member of a Soviet Purchasing Commission in the U. S. He had not written a book nor caused a headline. Then he resigned his post, referred to his country in terms which the Nazi radio delightedly picked up. Later he wrote "I Chose Freedom," which sold well.

Some thought that he did not write but only signed

Continued in wide column on next page.

These half-naked barefoot South African children, forced by the government to live in huts outside of Johannesburg, eagerly watch dinner being prepared on an improvised stove.

Behind the rioting

South Africa -- a "democracy" soured by racism

(Special correspondence)

JOHANNESBURG

LAST week's outbreak of violence between Indians and Africans in Durban, South Africa, was an easily predictable result of the government's policies.

The Union of South Africa is a classic example in the world today of a state founded and maintained on a doctrine of race supremacy, and which masquerades as a democracy.

Only 2,250,000 whites out of a population of 11,000,000 have the full franchise and the right to elect and be elected to legislative bodies. The whole state apparatus is guided by a dual standard of ethics—one for whites and one for non-whites — reinforced by innumerable color-bar laws that relate to the minutest details of human activity, including "religion."

In politics, commerce, industry, science, culture and education, the non-whites (including Indians) are ostracized and humiliated as were the Jews under Hitler. The civil service, technical colleges and most universities are closed to them. They are jimcrowed on beaches and in libraries, theaters, public transport and conveniences and post offices.

Politicians and the press, as in Nazi Germany, stoke the fire of race hatred with hysterical campaigns. The hatred spreads like a disease to inflame Africans and Indians against each other.

ALL IN JAIL. "The African," said the eminent South African judge F. E. T. Krause, "is all the time a prisoner in the land of his birth, although he might not be confined within prison walls." From the moment an African leaves his reserves, he is compelled to carry on his person no less than 12 "passes." Without them he cannot obtain a train ticket, seek work, enter a town, go out after curfew hours, attend a school.

Failure to carry any one of these passes is a criminal offense. An average of over 100,000 persons are convicted every year under the "pass laws." Proportionately, South Africa has the largest jail-going population in the world.

After investigating typical farms in the Bethal (Transvaal) district, Rev. Michael Scott, an Episcopalian vicar who has been championing the Africans before the U.N. for three years, said: "Conditions akin to slavery exist on some farms. On one, I found 50 men huddled round open fires with no blankets and only three or four mattresses in all. Sacks were their only working clothes and they had no boots, though the employer had issued overcoats. . . . On another farm 25 natives were employed and driven to work by sjamboks (whips)."

PAVED WITH GOLD. In the towns, Africans are forced to live in ghetto "locations" so crowded that their inhabitants overflow into unoccupied open spaces where they set up "homes" of sacking, kerosene tins and split poles.

Over 100,000 live in this condition in Johannesburg alone (richest gold-mining city in the world), where there is one water tap for every 50 such families.

Eighty per cent of adult Africans cannot read or write; 71% of school-age children are not in school. There are not more than 20 African doctors in the country; there are no African engineers, dentists, chemists, railroad engineers, etc.

"This policy of **apartheid,**" says Dr. Daddo, leader of the South African Indians, "is barbaric in conception, fascist in principle and oppressive in practice. **Apartheid** only over our dead bodies!"

RIFF-RAFF. Apartheid is the word coined by the present Nationalist government of Premier Daniel Malan to describe its program for "total political and territorial segregation of the natives."

The Malan government actually recognizes the superiority of only one race—the Afrikaners (descendants of Dutch settlers). The others are "Kaffirs" (Africans), "Coolies" (Indians), "Jingoes" (British settlers) and "Jode" (Jews). Leading Nationalist ministers have announced the setting up of an "Un-South African Activities" committee. To them even Afrikaners who don't support the Nationalists are "un-South African" and inferior: they are referred to as "Loyal Dutch."

Those who recall the statements of Malan and his colleagues during the war are not surprised by the intensified racism in South Africa since the Nationalists obtained power.

GOD AND HITLER. "Of course Germany is going to win," said Nationalist M. P. Rev. S. W. Naude on Feb. 7, 1940. "This is God's war . . . He is using Hitler . . . " Dr. O. H. du Plessis, "Enlightenment Secretary" of the Nationalist Party; Eric Louw, External Affairs Minister and leader of South Africa's U.N. delegation in Paris; and J. G. Strydom. Minister of Lands, were some of the Malan group who openly sided with Hitler.

Malan himself, confident of a Nazi victory, said that with it "a wonderful future awaits Afrikanerdom." Almost all the members of Malan's cabinet belong to the secret fascist Broederbund, which works for domination of South Africa by wealthy Afrikaners.

In 1941 Malan said in a speech: "Democracy exists here only in name. Is not the time ripe for us to base our national life upon another foundation by breaking away from democracy?"

On Feb. 25, 1942, the leading Nationalist M.P. A. J. Werth told the Assembly: "We say not only to the Jingoes, but we say so to the Jews: You are putting up gallows for the Germans, but beware, the day may come when you yourselves may hang from these same gallows."

THE POISON. How was it possible for such a party, which represents a threat to the most elementary principles of democracy, to be returned to power by election three years after the end of the war against fascism?

In a land with a mixed population like South Africa's, democracy is only possible if racism is smashed. A land where freedom and democracy are an exclusive preserve of a minority based on race and color, is inevitably ripe for fascism.

Racism in figures

Union of South Africa

	White	African
Tuberculosis death rate per 100,000	32*	800-1,200
Average life expectation (years)	60	36
Infantile mortality per 1,000 births (one typical area)	—	400-500
A miner's monthly wage	$180-200	$9
Expenditure on prisons and police	$12,000,000	
Expenditure on African education	$ 8,000,000	

* Lowest in the world.

This is what the Communists plan for China

THE impending defeat of the Chiang Kai-shek regime means a revolutionary change in the lives of nearly one quarter of the human race—the Chinese people—with a profound impact on the rest of the world. The following extracts from recent statements by Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese Communist leader, give an authoritative summary of the policies which the victorious Communist Party is carrying out and proposing to carry out in the country.—Ed.

By Mao Tse-tung

IN September, 1947, our party worked out the basic program of Chinese agrarian law and immediately carried it out. It stipulates that the land shall be equally distributed according to population. The principle of "land to the tillers" is the most thorough method for eliminating the feudal system. It conforms entirely with the will of the broad masses of Chinese peasants.

As legal organs for carrying out the agrarian reform, there must be organized in the villages Peasant Unions with elected committees comprising agricultural laborers, poor peasants and middle peasants [peasants who don't work for hire and have surplus grain for the market].

The land and property which the landlords and rich peasants receive must not exceed those which the mass of peasants get. Generally speaking, the landlords and rich peasants make up approximately 8% of the population, reckoned in families. The land they hold generally makes up from 70 to 80% of all the land.

Therefore those against whom our agrarian reform is aimed are a very small number of people, whereas the number of families who can and should participate in the united front for agrarian reform amount to over 90% of the rural population.

IN the past intensive agrarian-reform struggles, the Shansi-Suiyuan party did not keep strictly to our party's principle of categorically forbidding indiscriminate violence. In some places landlords and rich peasants were unjustifiably sentenced to death.

Bad elements in the villages were able to seize this opportunity for wreaking vengeance, so that some working people were done to death.

We consider it absolutely necessary and in order for the people's courts and democratic governments to sentence to death those major criminals who actively oppose the people's democratic revolution, and who sabotage the work of agrarian reform. But the execution of ordinary people on the Kuomintang side, of ordinary landlords and rich peasants and of those whose crimes are not so serious, must not be permitted.

At the same time, corporal punishment must be forbidden when examination and interrogation are being carried out.

MAO TSE-TUNG

DURING their 20 years of power the four families of Chiang (Kai-shek), (T. V.) Soong, (H. H.) Kung and Chen (Li-fu) have amassed enormous capital worth from 10 to 20 billion U.S. dollars, and have monopolized the economic life of the country.

This monopoly capital, combined with state power, becomes state monopoly capitalism, which not only oppresses the workers and peasants but also the petty and middle bourgeoisie.

All that the new democratic revolution aims to eliminate are feudalism and monopoly capitalism, the landlord class and the big bourgeoisie, not capitalism in general.

Owing to the backwardness of China's economy the existence of capitalism must still be permitted for a long period. The basic program of agrarian law provides that "the property and legal operations of persons engaged in industry or commerce shall be protected from infringement." The elements referred to here are all small, independent businessmen in industry and commerce and all small and middle capitalist elements.

TO sum up, the economic structure of the new China consists of:

- State economy—this is the leading element.
- An agricultural economy developing step by step from an individual to a collectivized economy.
- An economy of small, independent private industry and commerce and of small and middle private capital.

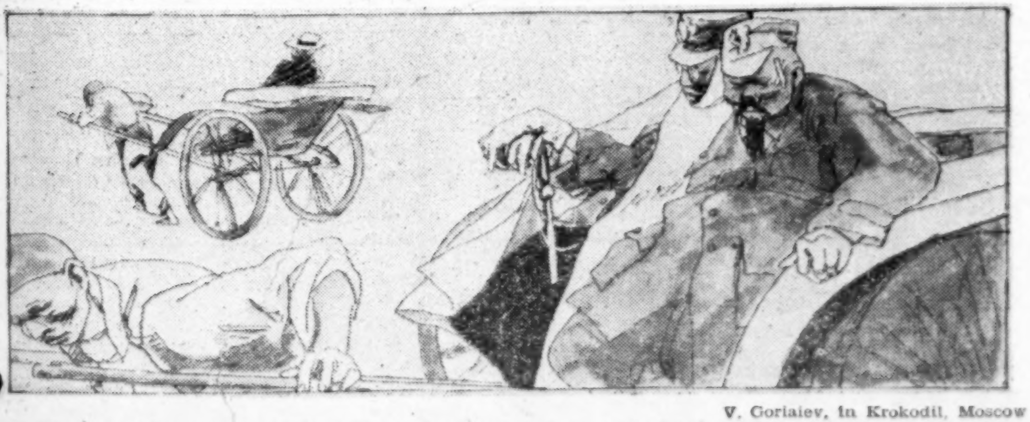
The guiding principle is development of production and of a flourishing economy, taking into account both public and private interests and benefits to both labor and capital. Any principles, policies and methods which deviate from this general objective are wrong.

Who is Mao?

"The future historian will assign to Mao Tse-tung a place in Chinese history parallel to that of Lenin in the Soviet Union," writes Dorothy Woodman in the London **New Statesman and Nation.**

Born in 1893, Mao began working for his poor peasant father at the age of six. At 18 he "first saw a map of the world," began reading western literary and economic classics and was drawn to socialist ideas. Gifted as a writer, speaker and organizer, he joined the Chinese Communist Party when it was founded in 1921, and consistently stressed that a successful revolutionary movement must be based on the peasants, whose condition of life he knew and continued to share. With Chu Teh, the Communists' military genius, he formed the first Chinese Soviet government in Kiangsi Province, which introduced free education, the eight-hour day and State assistance to the peasants.

When the Japanese struck in 1931 the Communists declared war on them, but Chiang intensified his campaign against the Communists, who successfully undertook the famous 6,000-mile mass-migration to Yenan. During World War II the party led by Mao, blockaded by Chiang, fought the Japanese and consolidated its position in north China through the appeal of its program to the poor peasants. Without any foreign aid it brought to disaster the forces of Chiang who received some $6,000,000,000 worth of aid from the U.S.



V. Goriaiev, in Krokodil, Moscow

"Hard luck, general! My whole army ran away before the enemy!"
"My luck is even worse! My whole army ran over TO the enemy!"

WORLD ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

the book. The French Weekly **Lettres Francaises,** in an article written by an American, said so. The magazine also claimed that Kravchenko was "morally insane" and "so illiterate as to be incapable of writing the book."

MONKEYS. Last week Kravchenko was in Paris ready to open a libel suit against the magazine. Though not a U. S. citizen, he was granted a passport by the State Department.

GUARDIAN'S Paris correspondent wrote:

"Surrounded by a corps of cameramen from Paramount and a division of police from the local pokey, Kravchenko spent a good hour of the press' time posing for stills, talking for the newsreels and distributing prepared texts and photographs. The trial is not going to be a libel suit at all but something on a par with the Scopes Monkey Trial [in which Clarence Darrow defended the right to teach the theory of evolution]."

Greece & Turkey

EARLY in the history of the Truman Doctrine, Turkey was named a bulwark against communism. By the end of last November the U. S. had shipped that land $59,499,181 worth of armament.

But last week the cost of living in Turkey had risen disastrously. (Food costs rose 26 points on the U. N. index during the year ending Nov., 1948.) Premier Hasan Saka had no answers. Even his own Republican People's Party failed to back him. He submitted his resignation to President Ismet Inonu who cast about for a successor.

An Associated Press dispatch from Ankara reported: "The only criticism here of the American aid program involves Turkey's economic structure which has been badly shaken by nine years of full mobilization. Some Turks would prefer an aid program that would bolster Turkey economically rather than militarily."

GREEKS DON'T GLITTER. Turkey could point to a glittering army if little else. Greece's army did not glitter.

In the years of the Truman Doctrine the guerrilla forces had increased from 17,000 to 25,000 and another 150,000 were listed as "sympathetic." Industrial production in Greece was at 67% of the 1938 figure in 1947. By the close of 1948 production had dropped to 65%. More than 25% of the population were classed as indigents or refugees.

During that past year the U. S. spent nearly $500,000,000 on Greece.

SAME TEAM. Last week King Paul had to find another government. He turned again to the 90-year-old Themistocles Sophoulis, who gathered about him a group of men differing only slightly from those who had maneuvered the Athens regime through its succession of parliamentary crises and military defeats.

Real power would continue to lie with Constantin Tsaldaris, Minister of Foreign Affairs. He is a royalist (leader of the Populist Party) and three-time Premier. The Russians charged him with being an espionage agent for Admiral Horthy's Hungarian dictatorship during the war.

The new minister of war, George Papandreou, was the man who as Prime Minister in 1944 invited British troops to occupy Greece. Recently he announced: "The Third World War has begun."

The problem of Greece's internal prosperity was to be in the hands of Alexander Diomedes, president of the Bank of Athens, and now Vice Premier in charge of all financial departments.

NEW PITCHER. The war itself was to be the special responsibility of Field Marshal Alexander Papagos. Early in the week he declined to take over unless he were given broad powers and general independence of everybody save the Anglo-American advisers. His requirements were met.

It was thought for some days that King Paul might ask the Parliament to go into permanent recess and allow Marshal Papagos to run the country outright. U. S. advisers announced that they would not oppose such a course, thought a parliament was perhaps preferable.

Papagos was the chief of the Army under Dictator Metaxas. He is generally credited with a victory over the Italians in Mussolini's ill-fated Greek campaign, but the Marshal folded his army almost at once as soon as German troops came on the scene—a fact somewhat sourly noted by British Generals Sir Maitland Wilson and Sir Bernard Wavell.

Throughout the Peloponnessus (southern Greece) as well as in the mountains of the north, sabotage exploded in the towns; riots ensued even in cities like Salonika; guerrillas were more active than ever.

WORLD ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

Chiang 'retires'

LAST FRIDAY Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek became a fugitive private citizen after 20 years of virtual dictatorship over China, during which he had accumulated vast power and wealth. With as much of his possessions as he could transport, he boarded a plane at Nanking, flew to Hangchow and from there to his home town of Fenghua.

Nanking reports said he had "retired." The Chinese word might be translated "taken leave of absence." Cold facts left small doubt that the leave would be indefinitely extended.

In the capital Chiang's ghost-writer, Tao Hai-sheng, put finishing touches to the Generalissimo's farewell statement. The government was turned over to Premier Sun Fo.

Chiang had asked for mediation, first from U. S., Britain and France. They turned him down. Last week Russia refused too. Joseph Newman, writing to the **N. Y. Herald Tribune** from Moscow, commented:

"The American and British rejections . . . were generally attributed to the hopelessness of President Chiang's situation, whereas the Soviet action reflected hopeful developments in China."

VICTORY BALLAD. The banks of the Yangtze were lined with refugees and defeated, broken troops. Chiang's Executive Yuan had sent a formal plea to the Communists for a cease-fire. The Communists would not agree until after peace talks started. But they were emphatically clear that they wanted the firing to cease.

The Communist radio in North Shensi reported: "In the hot pursuit of Kuomintang troops retreating from Suchow, a cultural worker promptly turned the regimental political commissar's call for 'fierce pursuit and fierce attack' into a popular ballad."

Indonesia at UN

AT Hyderabad House, New Delhi, India, delegates of 19 nations voted to ask the U.N. Security Council to order the independence of Indonesia by the end of 1949. They also recommended that the Dutch be ordered by Dec. 18 to withdraw their troops to lines held before they began the current "police action."

Indian Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, chairman of the conference, suggested that the delegates lay the groundwork for a permanent Asian association. Then they retired to closed sessions.

JOCKEYS. All week long at Lake Success diplomats had jockeyed for a way out of the Indonesian affair. On Friday the U. S., China, Cuba and Norway offered a resolution proposing that the Dutch and Indonesians cease all military operations; all Indonesian leaders be released and restored to their governmental powers; an interim government be created by March 15; elections be held by October 15, and the United States of Indonesia come into being by July, 1950.

But Indonesians saw a catch in the language. This was the way the Republic was to be restored under the resolution: "The commission (a new one to be set up by the U.N.) shall . . . recommend the extent to which, consistent with reasonable requirements of public security and the protection of life and property, areas . . . should be progressively returned to the Republic of Indonesia. . . . The Commission shall, after consultation with the parties, recommend which, if any, Netherlands forces shall be retained temporarily in any area in order to assist in the maintenance of law and order."

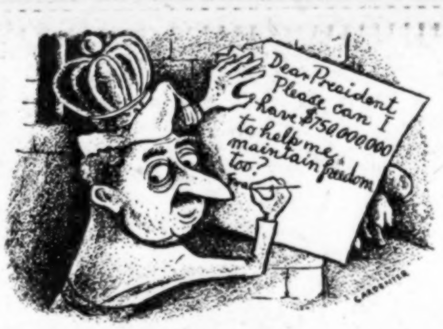
A spokesman for the Indonesian delegation at Lake Success told GUARDIAN: "It was originally an extremely weak resolution, and it has been further watered down to gain the seven necessary votes."

In Batavia Premier Willem Drees of the Netherlands said that talks with the Indonesians "would be more fruitful if international interest in this problem would somewhat subside."

Africa riots

EARLY in the week an Indian pushcart peddler in Durban, Union of South Africa, was accused of injuring an African boy. The highly charged South African racial atmosphere thereupon exploded in bloody riots that took three days and 300 lives before it ran its course. (See background story, page 8.)

About 870 persons were injured. One European was killed. Police shot him as a looter. Accurate casualty estimates were hard to get because the fighting spread to open country.


Dear President
Please can I have $750,000,000 to help me maintain freedom too?
Franco
CARSONIER

Inside Franco Spain

By William Robertson

LONDON

IN Europe today, millions of people go hungry. But in only one European country, an American journalist commented recently, do people actually drop dead in the streets from starvation.

In all Spain's colorful history of luxury contrasting with squalor there can seldom have been such bitter extremes of wealth and poverty as today.

Dictator Franco has a brother, Nicolas; and Nicolas runs the company "Naviera Aznar." No signs of starvation here, for this concern has acquired $1,760,000,000 over the past seven years.

Spanish Cellulose Applications, Ltd., (S.N.I.A.C.E.) made a profit of over $10,000,000 in the years 1946-7, which must have been very pleasant for its president, Baron de Tarrades, Fascist mayor of Barcelona.

CHICKPEA PROBLEM. Such giant profits in a small and not particularly wealthy country are only possible at the expense of the people. Skilled workers in Spain today are lucky if they earn more than about $1.25 a day, while unskilled workers frequently earn as little as $1. Pension contributions, payments to the Falangists (Spanish Fascists) and other "voluntary" payments amount to roughly one-fifth of the total wage.

While nominal wages are only a little above the pre-Civil-War figure, the cost of food stands at six times the figure under the Republic.

There is "rationing" in Spain—on paper. Here is the ration for a calendar month (actually the official ration for February, 1948): bread, 10 lbs; olive oil (Spain's equivalent of margarine), ½ pint; butter, 2 lbs. 3 oz; 4½ lbs. potatoes; 1 lb. meat; six eggs; 7 oz. sugar; 1 lb. cheese; 1½ lbs. rice; 3½ oz. coffee; 1 lb lentils; a few chick peas and a little dried cod.

Few people in Spain actually get that ration. Its total cost is $9.65: over nine working days for an unskilled man, and nearly eight days' labor for a skilled worker.

UNEMPLOYMENT. Millions of Spaniards cannot afford even this basic ration. The goods they can't buy go to swell the already flourishing black market. The Falangists, the profiteers, the Fascist officials, buy up their "surplus" rations, paying prices about seven times the official ones.

In Madrid, there are about 100,000 building workers. At any one time, 25,000 of them are unemployed, and a similar state of affairs exists in almost every other industry. In the industrial centers of the Basque country, in the textile districts of Catalonia, factories are closing; those which stay open work on short time. Small concerns are closing or going bankrupt all over the country. The indignant press blames this on a "buyers' strike" ("huelga de compradores"). It omits to answer the question: How can the people buy when they have no money?

Spain is largely an agricultural country; but under Franco its agriculture is rapidly declining. About 3,000,000 acres less were sown last year than before the Civil War. Robbed and hamstrung by the government's avaricious regulations, the peasants refuse to plant. The government "buys" the crop by force from the peasant farmer at the rate of 1½ pesetas (about 12½c) a kilo. When the peasant wants to buy back some of his own crop to feed his family, or for seed, he must pay for it at five times the price he received.

UNENDING WAR. Many of the young men make their way to the mountains to join the Republican guerrillas, who carry on the war which never really ended. In spite of vicious legal penalties and the murderous partiality of the courts, strike movements continue to grow and spread in the towns.

Franco achieved his uneasy control of Spain with the aid of Hitler and Mussolini. Today he remains in power only with the support of other friends abroad—notably in Wall Street and the City of London.

The indifference of world opinion in the 'thirties was responsible for Franco's early successes. The indifference of western opinion today is enabling him to remain.

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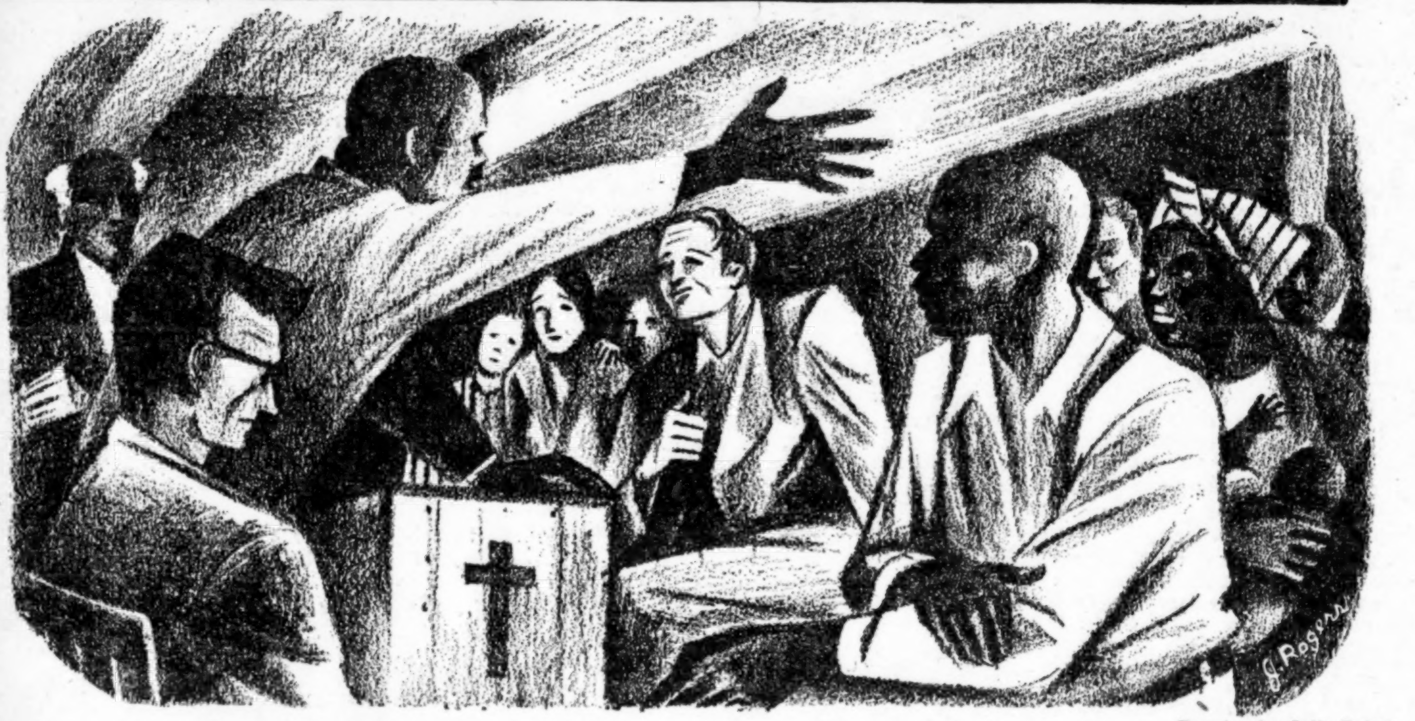
A Faith to Free the People

By Cedric Belfrage



Drawing by Julie Rogers

FLOGGED by a band of planters when he sought to preach a funeral sermon for a Negro killed by deputies on a tenant-farmer picket line, the Rev. Claude Williams continued his fight in Arkansas for meaningful Christianity in the South. In 1936 Claude drew satisfaction from seeing the Southern Tenant Farmers Union grow and receive recognition from Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace. While the established churches fought him, Claude preached religion to meet the people's needs—"Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven."

VIII. The good news

IT is a little church in the midst of cotton-fields, which stretch away off, very green, to the horizon. It is Sunday, and the people come from all about to hear the preaching and worship the God who is all they have of hope in a world of toil and hunger.

On this day, the Lord's day, what the people have of life is lived. They put on such finery as they possess and converge upon the church for all of the summer Sunday. Beauty is as much a stranger to the people as good food, but their hunger for it is also as great, and the hunger is expressed in the gaudy hats or store dresses that some of the women wear, for which they have sacrificed much. The clothes of all the people are scrubbed clean, but mostly they are threadbare and patched. The faces of the people are laughing, but the laughter cannot smooth over the deep creases of weariness and undernourishment.

The meeting is for the day and there is no set time of starting or ending. The people gather in groups on the bare piece of ground before the church door. Trestle tables have been set up and some pretty young Negro girls are arranging on them pink lemonade and refreshments which they have brought. Most of the people are Negroes, for it is a Negro church; but today white preachers as well as Negro preachers are coming, and through the gathering crowd are sprinkled white sharecroppers with their families. The white and black groups mix a little at the edges, but not much.

WHEN all the people have gathered, and the churchyard is lively with talk and laughter, and the children are tiring of chasing each other among the groups of adults, the chairman of the union local calls them inside. They stream up the wooden steps, from which several boards are missing. Loudly chattering, they take their places on the rows of scarred, backless benches facing the platform.

An old conditioning makes the Negro people leave several front benches on one side of the aisle for the whites, but some of the whites turn and talk animatedly with colored folk behind and beside them.

An hour of singing is enough. The spirit glows within the people and they are ready to hear the speakers: and not only to hear them, but to follow them along with interpolated cries and amens and repeat in chorus the phrases of which they especially approve.

There is a hush because a white preacher, who has driven many hours to honor them as chief speaker in their church meeting, has arrived. He sits in the center chair on the platform, a chair with arms. His lean face is calm, tender and strong. The colored people smile at him, and he smiles at them, as equals smile. The chairman, introducing him, says in a tone of rising emotion:

"We struggle for our rights not with guns. . . ."

"No!" cry all the people.

" . . . not with fists. . . ."

"No!"

" . . . not with weapons. . . ."

"No, sir!"

". . . but with principles!"

"Amen!"

NOW the white preacher leads them in old-time hymns with new words. "When the Union Marches In" is followed by "When the Struggle's Over, We Shall All Be Free, in a New Society." New verse after new verse is improvised from the congregation. The singing dies. The preacher leans down and asks the chairman how long he should speak.

"From now on," says the chairman, smiling blandly. And the preacher begins:

"These are new words for old songs—because we have to build the Kingdom of God on earth. The Kingdom is not **of** this world, but it is **in** this world. What Jesus meant by 'world' was the social order. 'Seek ye an **order** founded upon my principles'—an order of justice and brotherhood for everybody. There is an abundance for all if we seek this order.

"We pray to our Father—not the white man's Father" ["No!"]—"not the black man's father"—["No, man!"]—"but **Our** Father. We ask, Thy will be done on **earth** as it is in heaven. Thy will be done in the union.

" 'Thy will be done,' we say. It is not God's will that men and women and children should toil in the fields from sunup to sundown to grow cotton, and go naked. It is the will of the planter, but it is not God's will." ["Oh no! That's right!"] "It isn't the will of God that five million children should starve, nor that girls should be forced to sell their bodies for bread." ["Amen! No, man! I **mean!**"]

"I'm telling you what God has told me to tell you. And I'm not asking any man's permission to say it. I was jailed in Fort Smith for saying it, beaten at Earle for saying it. I had a church, but when I began to preach the religion of Jesus I was fired." ["Fired!"]

"NOW there is a new Pentecost in eastern Arkansas. You remember how the fishermen stayed with Jesus three years. Jesus was lynched. They didn't understand. They were told to go to Jerusalem and wait until they got the power. How did they get it? When they became 'of one accord'—when they were organized. It was when they were all agreed together that there was power. So Pentecost is unity—a condition met." ["Unity! Amen! Yea, man!"]

"We are getting this power—now what must we do with it? Well, you know how it is just about the time when cotton must be planted, after the rains. Imagine one bright morning when it's just right for planting. One Monday morning it'll be. Boss-man tells us all to get out in those fields and plant his cotton—and there'll not be a man out in those fields." ["Not one!"] "We can just go to moseying about—we can just go to whistling. Boss-man he comes down into the fields, and we just go on whistling—all whistling. All over the South people going to be sitting on stumps, going to be whistling. Boss-man can't get anyone to work. He goes over here—finds 'em all whistling. He goes over there to the white folks: **they're** all whistling." ["All whistling! Go on, preacher! Whistling!"]

"Why? Because cotton won't plant itself. Boss can't plant it. He wants it planted, but he can't plant it." ["No, sir! Can't do it! Jest as helpless as a baby!"] "Cotton don't hoe itself. Boss can't hoe it. Cotton don't pick itself, and boss he can't pick it. He can get a machine, but the machine won't run itself. So we go to him and we say: 'Boss-man, you sign this contract!' " ["Sign it, boss! Amen!"]

"A LONG time ago in Nazareth a carpenter organized twelve workers—yet today not half the world is Christian. Not one church member in ten is a Christian. But suppose there were only two Christians in all the world." ["Jest two!"] "And each one promised to get just one more Christian every year." ["Come on!"] "At the end of the first year there would be four Christians. In twenty-five years the entire population of the world would be Christian." ["All the world! Amen! Hallelujah!"]

"Now in the union. Suppose five men got a charter. If every one got a member a month, we'd have every worker a member in no time at all. So why wouldn't it be the best thing in the world for everybody to talk union? To talk CIO?" ["I mean! Talk union! Preach union!"]

THE preacher sits down, and the people stamp their feet and shout Amens. They laugh and move about on the benches, talking together. The chairman rises and says, holding up his hand for a silence that comes immediately:

"I don't know why it is, but I just been loving Claude ever since I knew him."

The preacher says: "I love you too, neighbor."

The chairman dismisses the people with a blessing.

"I want to thank you for your nice behavior," he says. "You've been very nice."

The people begin to go out. The giant Negro on the chairman's left glances down with an expression of pride at the CIO button in his lapel. A woman near the front, noticing him, is suddenly inspired to lead one more hymn.

IT is, perhaps, of all the hymns these people have sung through the generations in their cottonfield churches, the one most near to their deepest spirit and tradition. It has in it the lamentation of slave days, the spirit of hope that has never been lost, and also the rhythm of Africa. In a strange highpitched wailing, quite oriental in its fractional tones, the woman sings the first line alone:

What is it that I . . . see yonder coming?

Then the men in the congregation begin almost muttering rather than singing, on a very low note:

Coming — coming — coming —coming — coming.

Twice more the woman repeats her same line, the other women now joining in with her; and each time as they reach the end of the line, the men recommence their deep rhythmic muttering:

Coming — coming — coming —coming — coming.

And then, as all in the church wait for the woman to lead them in the triumphal shout of the line, "It is that old ship of Zion!", the familiar words do not come; and yet the new words she sings are taken up by all just as if they had never known any other.

It is that one . . . great big union!

And the undertone chanting, "union — union — union — union — union" sounds like a great mass of people approaching, crowding, marching, pouring through, men and women, bare feet and shod feet, advancing together toward a shining goal.

And now for the last verse the woman leads the congregation back to the old words of the hymn, just as naturally as she led the change before:

Jesus paid . . . my transportation.

And the men's rhythm takes it up—

'Tation — 'Tation — 'Tation —'Tation — 'Tation

—louder and louder, nearer and nearer, until all join together exultingly:

Git on board! Git on board! Git on board!

9th INSTALLMENT NEXT WEEK